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Hylan Christmas Greetings

Mayor Hylan, his Christmas spirit apparently exhausted by making an arrangement to assure Friend Enright \$3,750 a year for life, even though the new Governor should prove unkind, indulged his real mood by making faces at the public—particularly at the vile press of the city.

One gathers that the gunner are in fact newspaper reporters. Under orders from vicious employers they are masquerading as highwaymen and frame up the poor Police Commissioner.

This excuse is as plausible as any other. It does no one serious harm, not even the Mayor. His reputation is such that he is happily free of any danger of making it lower. From nothing it is possible to subtract nothing. So by proclaiming once again his bad temper, his incompetence and his stupidity His Honor in no way lessens popular regard.

State Rights and the Railroads

Justice Benedict's decision staying an increase of passenger fares on the Long Island and Staten Island Railroad is strongly tinged with the ancient state rights doctrine. It is a reversion to arguments which national expansion and unification have outrun.

It is one thing to hold that the Interstate Commerce Commission erred in prescribing an interstate standard of passenger rates for two New York State railroads which, practically speaking, do no interstate business. Congress directed the commission to equalize interstate and intrastate rates, in so far as the latter created discrimination injuriously affecting interstate transportation. Justice Hasbrouck decided a week ago that Federal action to standardize rates was legitimate, so far as state railroads which were also engaged in interstate traffic were concerned. As for the minor interstate carriers, he held that it was a question of fact, to be determined by referees, whether their business could be said to be genuinely affected with an interstate interest.

Justice Benedict accepts Justice Hasbrouck's finding that some state roads may be genuine interstate carriers and others not. He says that the Long Island Railroad and the Staten Island Railroad are in a different class from the New York Central, for instance. That is one of the reasons he gives for enjoining an increase of passenger fares by the two minor carriers.

But he gives another and more fundamental reason. Considering the question whether Congress has the right to vest an administrative Federal body with power to control the rates of a transportation company operating within the state which has granted it a charter, he says: "I believe that the question must be answered in the negative. Otherwise, what becomes of state sovereignty?"

Here is a broad denial of the Interstate Commerce Commission's power to do what Congress has intrusted it to do. The two New York public service commissions and the Attorney General have hesitated to go as far as that. They didn't contest the Federal commission's decree as to freight rates. If they had, what would become of Federal sovereignty, as exerted to regulate interstate transportation? Two clashing systems of regulation—state and Federal—would mean a practical abandonment of the system of unified railroad control which the Federal government has gradually built up. Dual authority, deadlocked all along the line, would bring disorganization and chaos.

Justice Benedict propounds a theory good enough half a century ago, but now outgrown. The sweep

of events and of constitutional construction has been all toward emphasizing Federal priority in railroad regulation. The interest of the nation has come to outweigh the particularistic interests of the states. The railroads have been unified and nationalized. The demand that they shall continue so will undoubtedly override any effort to unscramble them in the name of state rights.

Mr. Baker's Contumacy

Secretary Baker's attitude toward retrenchment in army expenditures since the armistice has been more than unsympathetic. It has been positively obstructive. In the years before the war he was against permanent military preparation. He couldn't be moved to say a word in favor of the principle of universal service. He assented only passively to the passage of the selective draft act, and in 1918 he did all he could to prevent the extension of the draft age limits.

When preparation at any cost was a national necessity Mr. Baker hung back, thus crippling our war effort. Now that moderation in military expenditure is demanded by Treasury conditions he again hangs back. There is a touch of pique in his present contrariness. Congress has shown plainly that it wants to go easy for the present on army costs. He is working to thwart economy and to make peace adjustments difficult.

Mr. Baker tried last spring to get Congress to authorize a standing army of about 580,000 men. But Congress cut the strength of the peace establishment down to about 280,000. The two houses provided money to maintain a force of 175,000 men, on the understanding that not more than that number would be obtained in this fiscal year. Then the Secretary bestirred himself to recruit beyond the 200,000 point, thus creating a deficiency. Questioned by the House committee the other day, he said that he felt free to enlist 280,000 men, if he could get them. He continues to push recruiting. He has just sent to Congress a deficiency estimate of \$76,000,000, \$34,000,000 of it due to his contemptuous disregard of the provisions of the last army appropriation act.

General March showed in his recent report as chief of staff that the country's military position is perfectly secure and will be so for several years. There are nearly four million trained men and tens of thousands of reserve officers available in an emergency. It cannot matter much from the military point of view if the regular army strength is kept below 200,000 for a couple of years longer. Congress is therefore justified in holding down army appropriations. But Mr. Baker's point of view is not the military one. It seems to be political and personal. Like Mr. Daniels, he says to the country, in effect: "You wouldn't take the Wilson plan for a League of Nations. Now you will have to pay the penalty of enormous military expenditures."

Pacific become ugly when they are crossed. But the Daniels-Baker regime is ending. Congress sees through their game and will be certain to rebuke once more the recklessness and spitefulness which inspired this year's and last year's inflated military estimates.

Back to Legality

The Haytian inquiry seems to have had a reflex in the Dominican Republic, where the American occupation is now to be relaxed. Admiral Snowden, the Military Governor, has announced that a commission of Dominican citizens is to be appointed, with an American technical adviser, to amend the constitution, revise the laws and, especially, to devise a new election system. The commission's work is to be submitted to the Dominican Congress, which is now in a state of suspended animation.

The American occupation of the Dominican Republic rests on a different basis from the Haytian occupation. It is more tenuous legally and more arbitrary. Our marines were landed in Port-au-Prince to protect foreigners from the miscellaneous violence of local revolutionists. They stayed on without any warrant, except such as could be found in a very broad interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine, until a treaty was secured from the Haytian government legalizing an American protectorate. Our present control in Hayti is based on that treaty.

With the Dominicans the process was reversed. The United States had made a diplomatic agreement by which it accepted responsibility for the collection of the Dominican customs and their application, in part, to the payment of the republic's foreign debt. The arrangement was fiscal, not political. Occupation, in the military and political sense, was undertaken on the ground, or pretext, that it was necessary in order to facilitate the work of the American fiscal agent. It has never been sanctioned by the local government,

the Dominicans refusing to conclude a protectorate treaty, similar to that with Hayti. They have submitted to military rule, but never conceded it.

On Dominican soil, therefore, the American rôle became one of complete intervention, resting on a much narrower prior right of financial administration. This status is difficult to justify and irksome to maintain. It doesn't bear the light of disinterested examination. It is not surprising that the President is at last seeking to withdraw from the military dictatorship which he imposed. The republic is tranquil and its finances have been put on a sound basis, our State Department says. The Dominicans have shown great self-restraint under the provocations of foreign rule. They have also indicated in a dignified but unmistakable way that they will not accept an American protectorate. The just and logical thing to do under the circumstances is to restore to them their political sovereignty and to confine American activities to the supervision outlined in the original fiscal convention.

New Stirrings in the Arts

The progress of the arts in a democracy, their status and achievement, is exceedingly difficult to calculate. The group of novel readers, of theatergoers, of music listeners is perpetually widening. And a dilution of taste—if one can conceive of the taste possessed by a nation as a totality—is inevitable. But taste improves by experience, the crop of recruits is constant, and here is a favorable and yeasty growth over operating to offset the raw new multitudes clamoring to be fed.

Creative achievement is equally hard to evaluate for related reasons. A new economic control of creative energy in the arts has resulted from the democratization of the arts; such huge profits have been made possible that the integrity of an artistic impulse is threatened from its birth. Our peaks of achievement have been far between—Poe, Lincoln, Whitman, Mark Twain—with little enough support from the surrounding landscape, mountains rising from a plain. Heights are deceptive under such conditions, save at a distance; the state of creative effort at any spot or moment is hard to gauge, since one can never tell just when an isolated giant will stand up to be counted.

Of late years the gloom-seekers have seen sign upon sign of a lowering taste and a correspondingly glib and second-rate creation in those arts which react most quickly to their audience—magazine fiction, for example. Mechanical music has been suspected of a similarly debasing influence. And the movie has been treated as the final degradation of the theater.

But are there not, on the other side of the picture, even more potent and significant stirrings of a rebirth of artistic interest? The items are unrelated, yet their cumulative effect is striking.

In literature there is the poetry revival, as widespread and healthy and genuine a renaissance as one could ask to see. The output is extensive, the average of merit high. The intelligent public is large, certainly far larger than ever before in America. No great outstanding poets have upheaved, but the plains are vanished amid a wealth of fertile foothills. There is developing precisely that atmosphere of taste, that reserve of creative ability, out of which an era of high poetical achievement can most naturally develop.

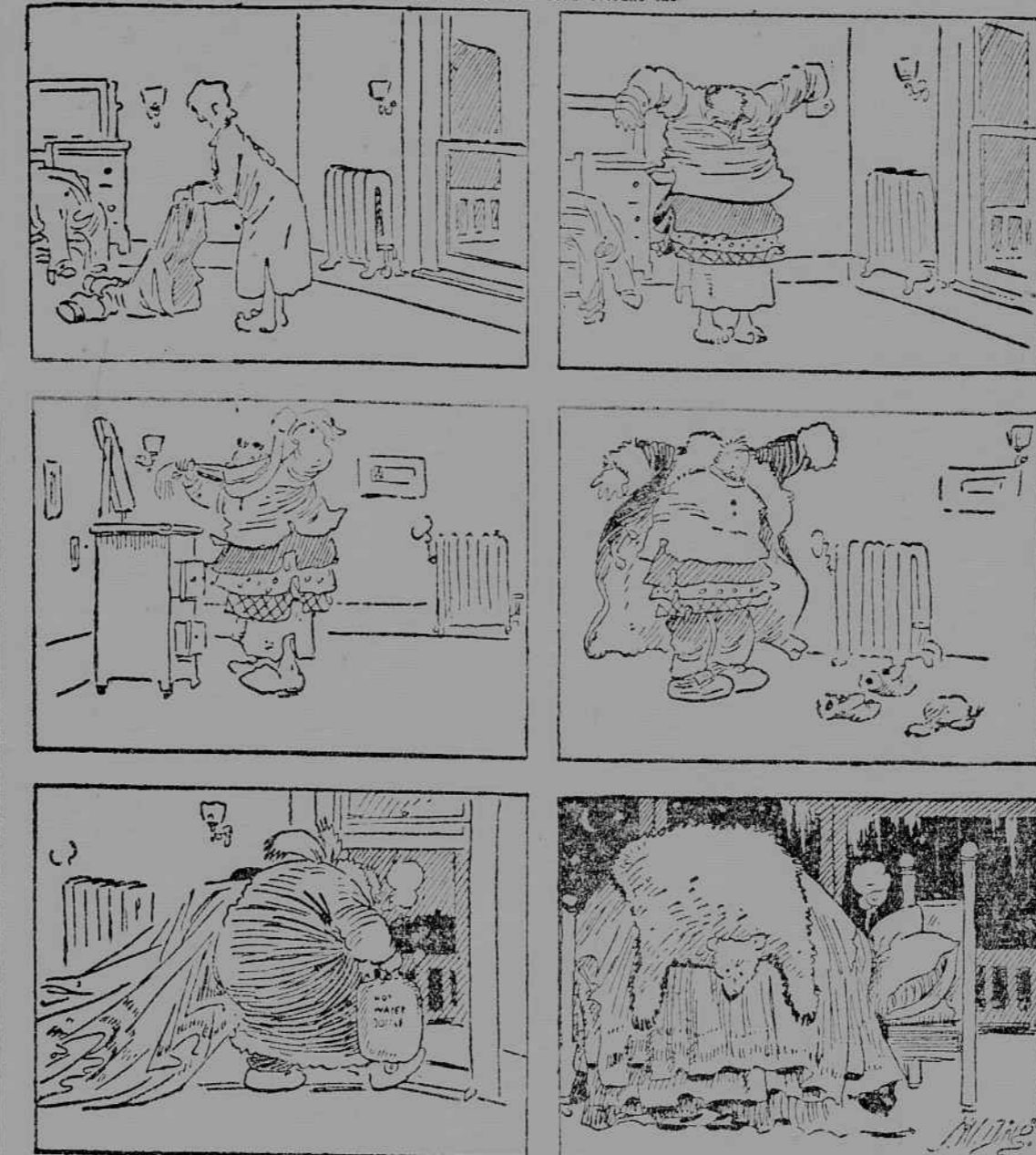
Nor on the stage do all the arrows point downward. The little theater movement is country-wide, vigorous, springing from a genuine zest for the stage. It is developing on every plane—play writing, production, acting. Its repercussion upon the commercial stage is already felt. There is developing here exactly the same broad basis of appreciation and talent to be found in the field of poetry.

Perhaps the least definite revival is in music, a condition which might have been expected, considering how mildly musical America has always been. Yet community singing is a hopeful sign. And the gradual death of the old-style college glee club, with its turning to better things, is another. The Harvard Glee Club set the fashion a year or so ago, and it has already made a good record. Then there is dancing, a notable and highly artistic gain in the teaching of children. The enormous stimulation to musical interest from the perfection of mechanical music-making is unquestionable. We may have to wait a decade or a generation for it to bear its complete artistic fruit. But the promise is already apparent.

So if we cannot accept the Whitmanesque faith that out of democracy a new and marvelous art of the people will spring fully grown, we can at least see hope of a new birth of the arts in all their old vigor. True it is in a new aristocracy of taste and talent that the new succession begins. It seems to come

THE OPEN AIR SLEEPER

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Fresh Air Fiend—I tell you what! Anybody that doesn't sleep right out of doors this weather doesn't know what he misses.

Pilgrim and Puritan

An Excellent Statement of Uncontroverted Fact

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: On this 300th anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims I read in The Tribune an editorial, entitled "The Puritans," which is so unfair to the Pilgrims and so untrue in its historical references that I am writing to you hoping that you will make a correction, in fairness to the men and women who have long since died.

The Pilgrims were not Puritans. The Puritans were members of the Church of England, who might be termed at the present day low-church Episcopalians. The Pilgrims, often termed Separatists, had left the Church of England entirely and had formed a church of their own. The Puritans hoped to reform the Church of England from within; the Pilgrims abandoned that church entirely. On account of the persecution of the Separatists they fled to Holland, where there was religious tolerance. The Pilgrims stayed in England. The Pilgrims settled in Plymouth 300 years ago today, and southern Massachusetts as far north as Scituate was settled by them. The Puritans settled in Boston, and that portion of Massachusetts north of Scituate and including Cohasset was settled by them. The Pilgrims were most tolerant of other religions. Shortly after the formation of the Plymouth settlement a minister of the Church of England, by which they had been persecuted, came to form a church among them, and he was welcomed. A few years later a Roman Catholic bishop visited Plymouth from Canada, and the whole town turned out in honor of his visit, which was celebrated by a feast, the menu of which has been preserved to this day. The Quakers were opposed not primarily because of their religion, but for the reason that they were the most violent of them refused to pay taxes, or to serve in the army or to obey the magistrates, and for the reason that they urged the people not to obey the laws of the land. Such doctrines preached in small settlements surrounded by hostile Indians meant disaster to all (I permitted to continue). The Pilgrims gave a good example to us to follow in our treatment of the more modern I. W. W.'s.

Sabbath Complications

(From The Columbia State)

There is a movement to make the Sunday observance laws in Washington more strict. Miss Laura Church wants only those stores which deal in the necessities of life to remain open. She, she says, may be shined overnight, and we presume, the man who cannot shave himself may get the process done at 11:45 p. m. Saturday. What, however, of the hapless tourist who finds himself stranded between trains on a Sunday, without a clean collar in his bag and with the one he has on no longer fit for decent society? To a man to whom a fresh collar is one of the prime necessities of life, such a situation is little short of torture. On a weekday any barber shop could relieve his anguish, but on a Sunday he would have to face a dressed-up crowd, feeling like a pariah and an outcast. Won't women ever understand masculine human nature?

A Teutonic Jag

(From The Philadelphia Inquirer)

Statement is made that over 20,000,000 bottles of champagne have been consumed in Germany during the last twelve months, as compared with about 6,000,000 in 1914. The cost of that champagne is about \$32,000,000, which makes us wonder how it compares with the amount that has been set aside here to use in "rescue work" and "reconstruction" in Germany.

That's Different

(From The Philadelphia Evening Bulletin)

The British government has decided to refuse passports for the Villard commission for an Irish inquiry. What would be the action at Washington and the attitude of the nation at large if a self-appointed commission of Britifereers decided to come over here and investigate as to the why and wherefore of the failure of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments?

They drove the more violent of the Quakers from their settlements and whipped them when they returned. The modern penalty for telling men not to serve in the army during a period of warfare was frequently a sentence of twenty years' imprisonment during the recent World War. The comparison between us and the Pilgrims shows that we, when our country is in danger, are more severe than they were with the people who jeopardized the country's safety.

"The sea captain who was fined in Boston for kissing his wife in public" was punished by Puritan laws in Boston, and not by Pilgrim laws. The Pilgrims had nothing to do with Salem witchcraft. Jonathan Edwards was not a descendant of the Pilgrims, nor did he live in a Pilgrim community. Your quoting isolated cases of bigotry reminds me of the story of the man who was landing in France for the first time and who, seeing a red-haired woman on the dock, exclaimed, "Why, all the French women have red hair!"

On this 300th anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims why does your paper not mention the good done by them? The compact signed in the cabin of the Mayflower furnished to the world the first example of a representative government. The Pilgrims introduced compulsory school attendance and military service. Every man was a voter, irrespective of his church membership. The form of government introduced by the Pilgrims eventually supplanted that of the Puritans in Boston and is to-day the form under which this country lives. Throughout the United States there are perhaps millions of persons descended from the little band that came over on the Mayflower, and it is a cause of sorrow to them that a leading paper like The Tribune should print such an unfair account of men and women who gave their all that they might worship as their consciences dictated.

FRANCIS R. STODDARD JR.
New York, Dec. 21, 1920.

[The Tribune did not confuse the Pilgrims and the Puritans. It made what was an apparently unsuccessful attempt to poke fun at those who have attacked both.—Editor.]

Wasting Their Money

(From The Los Angeles Times)

If the Kaiser is getting a salary of \$15,000,000 a year from Prussia, as has been widely charged, he is being paid much more than he is worth and Prussia is being double-crossed. At Kaiserling he is no longer worth more than forty marks a month. He has developed into a passable wood sawyer, but even at \$5 a cord he could not make more than \$50 a week. He is said to be writing his memoirs on the side. He would probably make more in that way than any other, but certainly Prussia shouldn't pay him a salary for doing it. He might develop into a movie director, but it isn't necessary for Prussia to pay a fancy figure for his keep in the mean time. Leave him alone and make him hustle for himself. We don't blame the Allies for remonstrating against this diversion of the Prussian assets. Germany owes a lot of money in the reparations columns and cannot be permitted to waste a big bunch of it on a motile, eaten and flea-bitten Kaiser.

The Stamp Mania

(From The Los Angeles Times)

This business of making over Europe is raising havoc with the stamp collectors. Every time one of these little nations gets a new Premier or a fresh face in the City Hall the first government business in order is the issuing of a complete new set of postage stamps. They are getting so that they send them in sheets to the philatelists and firms dealing in stamps and by this means obtain money enough to perhaps run the country until the next Saturday night. Some enthusiastic and wealthy collector is likely to start a revolution in some threadbare country merely for the purpose of getting an exclusive issue of stamps and thereby putting something over on his rivals. There are passions in philately the same as there are in art, literature, love and politics.

Waste Paper

(From The Los Angeles Times)

The Russian ruble has sunk so low in the estimation not only of the world, but of its own makers, that the

Soviet government talks of doing away with money altogether. Why bother with carrying the stuff? When it takes an armful of rubles to buy a loaf of bread it seems a waste of effort to print money. Lenin and Trotsky still have the government gold and treasure to use when they deal with other nations, and the Soviet leaders will find it much simpler to take what they want when they can get it without any foolish wrangling over the value of the circulating medium. What business has Utopia with coin? In a perfect government money is as non-essential as a bath or a hare lip.

Poor Army Air Service

What Is Lacking and How Progress Can Be Achieved

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: Sadi Lecointe's new air record of 1945 miles an hour in a French plane is mentioned in this morning's Tribune.

When Mosley made 172 with an American plane in the Pulitzer race General Mitchell was quoted in the papers to the effect that unquestioned American supremacy in the air was thereby established. I was amazed at this view, but saw no subsequent denial by the General.

Mosley's record demonstrated one, and only one, obvious fact: that a single plane had flown fast. Aside from sample editions of a few trick models, most of them unworthy, the United States Army is without air-planes—except antiquated De Havillands, still older Curtiss and an insignificant number of Allied planes which were missed in the post-armistice holocaust.

With such equipment clever pilots in the service have done surprisingly well. Making Alaska and return, for example, in De Havillands is no mean feat. But army air service equipment is both obsolete and inadequate. It is ridiculous to claim supremacy on a single plane's record—especially when that record is so badly beaten soon after.

There is the same need that existed in 1917 for less talk and more sane action.

For real progress in the air these steps at least seem essential: Bring all air forces under a single head, either a bona fide army dyer or a capable civilian executive; take the air service out of control of old-line army men, who consider running a c. p. or a Washington bureau as sufficient training for the chiefs of a highly technical and specialized service; give the young flyers the encouragement of real progress in the air service and of possible promotion to important, well-paid jobs; draw on the best consulting and constructing talent in Europe, until we really stand on our own feet; subsidize experimental workshops where new designs may be tried out through research and small-quantity production; subsidize the manufacture of models previously tried and found good. Spent along these lines, the \$60,000,000 asked for by the air service would go far.

Present efficiency of the War Risk Insurance Bureau shows what can be done by a government bureau with proper direction and sound policy. The air service offers problems more difficult but less numerous than those met in untangling the old W. R. I. chaos.

AN EX-FLYING SHAVETAIL
Upper Montclair, N. J., Dec. 13, 1920.

No Housing Relief

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: The refusal of the Board of Aldermen to exempt new residence buildings from taxation for ten years must make the judicious grieve. The board has rejected the only line that the legislature could throw out to save a gradually submerging city. None but a few disinterested citizens and a couple of papers like your own took the trouble to urge favorable action. The labor unions were dumb as eels, unable to see that the principle at stake was almost as important to the people whom they profess to represent as the closed shop itself. The vast mass of tenants, lulled into fancied security by the rent restriction acts, took no interest in the proceedings. Their stupidity almost tempts one to say that when the storm does break over them they will only be getting their deserts.

The situation now is this: The city is growing about 8,000 a month; no buildings are going up; no one is so foolish as to build new houses to rent; neither city nor state can spend a dollar to erect any residence buildings for solvent people within three years, even if the Legislature should take the first steps to amend the Constitution at the coming session. We are crowding steam on the boiler and sitting on the safety valve.

Tenants can hold their homes legally only by paying the same rent as last year. How long can they continue to pay these rents with falling wages? Do they think that the Legislature can continue to strain its powers by further emergency legislation which will postpone to a further date the erection of new houses and which may definitely determine the belief of capital, that housing is an investment too hazardous to be undertaken?

MARTIN M'MIX.
New York, Dec. 20, 1920.

Another Chance

(From The Atlanta Constitution)

Ponzi, in prison for five years, may get some consolation out of the probable fact that there will be as many suckers in the world in 1925 as there are now.

An Unattractive Place

(From The Kansas City Star)

The population of Petrograd has declined 71 per cent, according to the latest figures. Or, in other words, 29 per cent of the population couldn't get away.

A Week of Verse

The Madness of the Arts
(From The English Review)

SHOUT, shout aloud for the clutch of lust in the battle
And a gray bird calling high, high in the air!
Pipe, shy reed, for her eyes, her lips in the twilight!
A star falls, a star falls; and the night hides in her hair.

Pipe, pipe high for the wings drive up in the morning;
And love's arm loosens with a long glad sigh.
Shout, shout aloud for the spear and the sword are shaken;
And one kneels alone, humble, ready to die.

I have seen hedged ranks, lean ranks go marching,
And the poet marched before them juggling with his sword.
I have seen the English arrows like a sudden flight of swallows,
And the poet tuned a ballad to the cord.

But a bird sings in the brake, and the poet, the lover
Hearkens, and builds up a song for the bird in the brake,
Whose nest the storms of the world cannot discover,
Yet the breezes shake.

The slow wheel turns of the wain come home from harvest
The ripe wheat burns
Like a sunburst on the wain;
And the poet up aloft,
Brown-limbed and flushed and glorious,
Leaning on his fork, sings:
"Here we come from harvesting,
John, James and Margery, from harvesting the grain."

And a big moon in the blue arises and whispers:
And the chink of the mugs on the ale-bench echoes the word again.

W. R. TITTERTON.

Mrs. Freudenthal Consults the Witch of Endor
(From Poetry)

ENTER the house, ascend the stair!
Consult the scintillating ball!
Beatrice Freudenthal, beware!
Eve felt like you before the Fall.

Within the shining mystic robe
Lies luck-at-bridge, or martyr's crown;
A modern prophetess will probe
The future, for one guinea down.

For that amount, the future's word
From crystal seaboard she will drag.
She can unpack the future's hoard
As we unpack a Gladstone bag.

Without the agency of man,
Solely by fasting and by prayer,
The wizards of old Jenghis Khan
Could move a wine-cup through the air.

Until it reached him, and he drank
Fermented juice of rye or grapes.
The cup flew back, his courtiers shrank
Away, astonished and agape.

Before the Lama turns to grapple
With state affairs, he learns to spin
(Despite Sir Isaac Newton's apple)
In mid-air sixty times—to win.

Amusement mixed with approbation
From skeptical ambassadors;
For any kind of levitation
Increases prestige with the Powers.

Such things were practiced—did not tend
To promote war or anarchy;
Yet now such things would even end
A Constitutional Monarchy.

Magic for a holy race
Is surely wrong; how strictly hidden
The future in its crystal case
Lies—oh, so near, and yet forbidden!

Though gentile kings upon their thrones
May weave a spell or dance like Tich,
Yet ponder on the bleaching bones
Of Saul, who sought the Endor witch.

OSBERT SITWELL.

A Song at Leavetaking
(From Bonhoeffer's Magazine)

VOYAGERS and merchantmen, you who sailed seas over
In desire of new lands and marvels yet to find,
Had you ever fath at heart of what you might discover?
Cast you ever wistful looks at all you left behind?

When you saw the last of shore, the dim blue line, slow-sinking;
When you looked before you, where the first low fog-wreaths curled,
Were they all of joyous deeds, the thoughts that you were thinking,
Were they all of wondrous things in some new wondrous world?

Surely there were times for you when seas seemed drear to wander,
When the thought of some wide hearth, some long lane summer-green,
Took your heart with love of it, and made you pause and ponder
Why you left the dear known things for perilous dreams unseen!

Where you went you knew not, and each day brought it wonder—
Strange new creatures in the deep and strange stars in the sky—
With your world grown strange to you, around, above and under,
Did you shrink from what might come ere all your voyage was by?

Voyagers and merchantmen, you who sailed seas over,
If your hearts grew cold sometimes at change of sea and sky,
Say a little prayer for me, each happy-resting rover,
For I, too, have a voyage to make—and of your blood am I!

CLARE GIFFIN.